



University of California, Berkeley

Center for Slavic and East European Studies

Newsletter

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In this issue:

Notes from the Chair.....1
Evgenii Bershtein
<i>AIDS: A View From</i>
<i>Moscow</i>3
Jan Plamper
<i>The Politics of Memory</i> ...5
Upcoming Events.....7
Elzbieta W. Benson
<i>Public Servant or</i>
<i>"Superspy"?</i>9
Working Groups.....10
Fall Visitors.....11
In Memoriam.....12
Faculty/Student Notes....13
Associates of the Slavic
Center.....14
Fellowship Sources.....15
Hertelendy Fellowship....16

**Newsletter of the Center
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ments and suggestions.

GTU LIBRARY Notes from the Chair

In recent years, traditional "area studies" in the United States have faced mounting criticism from both scholars and foundations. Whereas the primary focus for international scholarly research was formerly the community, the nation, and the region, today there is a growing tendency to emphasize problems that are global and interregional in scope. Topics such as the rise of transnational identities, migration, environmental crises, and new global forms of media and technology have taken center stage, often with the support and encouragement of funding agencies. These trends are felt more strongly in some disciplines and foundations than others, but the general shift in orientation is unmistakable. Traditional area studies, together with the scholars and the centers that supported them, have been under attack.

During the past academic year, one major foundation has taken deliberate steps to turn the tide. In reaction to the "tendency for scholarly conversations on transnational connections to drift into vaguely conceptualized 'globalizations,' obliterating the specificity of local languages, histories, and cultures," the Ford Foundation announced a major new initiative. It plans to provide seven million dollars in grants to U.S. colleges and universities for the purpose of exploring ways to revitalize area studies in both the humanities and social sciences. U.C. Berkeley, under the auspices of the Institute of International Studies, has been funded for the first phase of the Ford initiative. The Center for Slavic and East European Studies is one of six Berkeley units that will organize a thematic working group as part of the Ford project. The working group, designed to explore the application of anthropological and sociological theories to research on the former Soviet Union and East Europe, will be coordinated by five Berkeley anthropologists and sociologists (V. Bonnell, M. Burawoy, G. Eyal, M. Garcelon, A. Yurchak). Graduate students from all departments will be invited to participate in the working group during the spring semester 1998.

Slavic Center faculty are also participating in another project along similar lines, "Rethinking Area Studies: Intellectual and Institutional Trajectories," organized by Berkeley colleague David Szanton, executive director of International and Area Studies. The project examines area studies in the United States, both past and present, and seeks to analyze the current reconfiguration of issues and goals. A major conference on the subject was held at Berkeley in the spring of 1997. Berkeley faculty have a longstanding interest in the issue of area studies, and Slavic area faculty, in particular, are in the forefront of the effort to define the proper place of area studies in scholarship that seeks to appreciate both the general and the particular in world affairs on the eve of the twenty-first century.

The Slavic Center is actively engaged in other research projects as well. The Center, together with the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, has been awarded a two-year grant from the Carnegie Foundation for a project entitled "Russia on the Eve of the Twenty-first Century: Stability or Disorder?" Beginning this fall, a team of scholars, including nine from Berkeley (V. Bonnell, G. Breslauer, M. Burawoy, M. Castells, S. Fish, G. Grossman, E. Kiselyova, Y. Slezkine, E. Walker), will examine the situation in contemporary Russia, with attention to such topics as political institutions and practices, legal reform, the military, the economy and economic elites, organized crime, public opinion, nationalism, and technology. The funding for the project includes fellowship assistance for graduate students as well as research funds for the participants.

Last year, our application for a U.S. Department of Education Title VI grant was accepted once again. These funds help our operations and, even more importantly, provide needed scholarships and help support the teaching of East European languages at Berkeley, including Hungarian. Last spring, Hungarian studies on this campus received a tremendous boost with the establishment of the Hertelendy Fellowship in Hungarian Studies. Thanks to Paul and Martha Hertelendy's generosity, this fellowship will support training and dissertation research in the field of Hungarian studies in

continued on next page

perpetuity. A competition for the fellowship will be launched in spring of 1998 (see back cover). Similarly, the Kujachich Endowment for Balkan Studies, a major gift given to U.C. Berkeley by Peter Kujachich, will support training, research, and activities related to the Balkans, especially Serbia and Montenegro.

In addition, the Center continues to administer the William Saroyan Visiting Professorship in Armenian Studies, held in 1997-98 by Levon Abrahamian. Professor Abrahamian holds the position of visiting professor of anthropology with the Department of Ethnography at Yerevan State University in Armenia. He joins us in Berkeley for the fall semester as the William Saroyan Visiting Professor and as the visiting scholar within the Graduate Training and Research Program on the Contemporary Caucasus (BPS). Professor Abrahamian is teaching two courses this semester, "Peoples and Cultures of the Former Soviet Union" and "Armenian Culture and Identity in the Changing World." The Caucasus Program, which is funded by the Ford Foundation, will also hold a major conference in early May that will focus on the region.

Another ongoing research effort, which began in 1995, is the convenor group, "Europe East and West after the Collapse of Communism: Challenges to Sovereignty from Above and Below." The project is cosponsored by the Center for German and European Studies and includes twenty Berkeley faculty and two Berkeley Ph.Ds. Two meetings of the group are planned for 1997-98. Several working papers arising out of this project are in press, and one monograph has been published. Future publications are planned as well.



Chair Victoria Bonnell (right) at our fall reception in October with Dr. Jeannine Davis-Kimball, Center for the Study of Eurasian Nomads in Berkeley and Dean Richard Buxbaum, International and Area Studies, U.C. Berkeley.

The Center is pleased to announce several new appointments. Gil Eyal has joined the Department of Sociology as assistant professor. Professor Eyal is a specialist on the sociology of intellectuals, political sociology, and post-Communist transformation. He has been conducting research on these topics in the Czech Republic.

We are also pleased that Alexei Yurchak is currently visiting assistant professor in anthropology. Professor Yurchak's visit is partially supported by the Center, thanks to its Department of Education Title VI grant. A specialist on language and power as well as late socialist and post-Soviet culture, Dr. Yurchak is teaching two courses this semester, including a graduate seminar on post-Soviet anthropology.

Also enriching our curriculum this year is Izaly I. Zemtsovsky, visiting professor in Anthropology and Slavic Languages and Literatures. Professor Zemtsovsky is a specialist on ethnomusicology and folkloristics and former head of the Folklore Department of the Russian Institute for History of the Arts in St. Petersburg. He is teaching two courses this semester. In the spring, as the Visiting Bloch Professor in the Department of

Music, Professor Zemtsovsky will present six lectures on the legacy of a significant group of Russian-Jewish musicians who were active in Russia during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Two Fulbright scholars who study our area are on campus this year: Professor Arbakhan Magomedov, chairman of the Department of History and Culture at Ulyanovsk State Technical University; and Sven Simonsen, researcher at the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo, Norway. Both scholars are conducting research at Berkeley.

We are sad to report that Elsa Miller, who established the annual Colin Miller memorial lectureship in honor of her late husband, passed away in August of this year. She was a generous supporter of the Center for many years and will be missed. This year's lecture, which will be held in the spring, will be dedicated to the memory of both Elsa and Colin.

Four conferences are planned for the spring. The annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference will be held at Stanford University in March of 1998. Our annual Outreach Conference is scheduled for early April, to be followed by a conference on "Death in Russian Culture," organized by Professor Olga Matich of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures (April 25-26). Our third annual Caucasus conference is scheduled for May 2.

Also in May, the Center will be cooperating with the Judah L. Magnes Museum on a program to accompany their exhibit, "Stalin's Forgotten Zion: Birobidzhan and the Making of a Soviet Jewish Homeland." Confirmation and details of these events will come in future Updates and Newsletters.

The Center plans an active year, but the completion of such plans hinges, ultimately, on the Center personnel. Several changes in personnel occurred last year. Patricia Stevens was hired in the spring as our office supervisor and accounts manager. Pat, who used to work for Sponsored Projects, brings important grant experience to the position. Susanne Kauer, who had worked on student fellowships and grant reporting, left the Center to become a student affairs officer in Graduate Division. Her replacement, Alexandra Wood, was hired some weeks later. Lexie, who used to work for IREX, has a deep interest in the area, including fluency in Russian and familiarity with the country. Stella Bourgoin (née Paras) has assumed the duties of Center program assistant, replacing Monique Nowicki, who is now a graduate student at George Washington University.

Finally, we will not be seeing much of our executive director of BPS, Ned Walker, who was awarded a national fellowship by the Hoover Institution and is on leave in 1997-98. His position is being filled by Marc Garcelon (Ph.D., Sociology, UCB), who is handling BPS affairs, and Mirjana Stevanovic (Ph.D., Anthropology, UCB), who is in charge of the Title VI program activities.

I should like to conclude with an acknowledgment of our Associates of the Slavic Center who continue to be our supporters, fans, and very good friends. To all of you, our sincere thanks.

Victoria E. Bonnell
Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies

AIDS: A View from Moscow

Evgenii Bershtein

Evgenii Bershtein is finishing his Ph.D. dissertation, "Western Models of Sexuality in Russian Modernism," at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Last summer he had an internship with the AESOP Center in Moscow as a recipient of the Human Rights Fellowship, awarded by the Berkeley Human Rights Center.

"Why do you care about AIDS? It's passé. It's time to move on to larger things," the American organizer of one of the first AIDS-prevention groups in Russia told me when I came to Moscow last June to do a summer internship with his organization. The man was changing careers, and the group had no staff, no funds, and no morale. Shady characters wandered around the tiny office (rent unpaid), looking to get possession of the equipment bought with generous, but rather mysteriously depleted, grants from American charities. The organization still had an impressive web site, however—complete with a photo of Bill Clinton shaking hands with the organizer.

This dismissal was the first evaluation of the AIDS situation in Russia that I received from an expert. The second evaluation came a couple days later at a roundtable discussion at the Penta Olimpiisky, a nice business hotel. Medical officials, journalists, and activists had gathered to exchange views on how to fight AIDS together—instead of fighting one another. The statistics presented at the meeting were grim: while the number of *known* cases of HIV infection was still relatively low, the rate of infection had sky-rocketed: 2,556 cases were recorded at the end of 1996, with 7,100 projected for 1997. The *actual* number of HIV cases is supposed to be several times higher: "from 100 to 120 new infections daily," doctors and officials often claim. The Moscow Center for AIDS Research estimates that up to a million people in Russia could be infected with HIV through the year 2000.

The Penta meeting included the major players of the Russian AIDS establishment: Dr. Aleksandr Galusov, a top officer-in-charge-of-AIDS from the Russian Ministry of Health and Dr. Viktor Golikov, director of the Moscow AIDS Center, who, unlike Galusov, has actually treated HIV patients. Several reporters attended, including Masha Gessen, a Russian-American journalist who has written the best article so far on AIDS in Russia (in the January 28 issue of *Itogi*). The remainder of the group included a few activists, most notably Gennady Roshchupkin, the *only* openly HIV-positive person in the Russian Federation (as a friend has styled him), and some Westerners working on AIDS in Russia, who did not speak much Russian and were mostly excluded from the discussion. Gessen, very business-like and aggressive, kept inquiring where exactly the AIDS money allocated by the government had gone; the man from the health ministry, in fine Soviet fashion, acted very upset by her questions; and everyone complained that the media did not pay enough attention to the approaching catastrophe.

The word "catastrophe" describes the state of the epidemic rather precisely. Apart from the immeasurable human suffering that the spread of AIDS is sure to cause, it might provoke a demographic crisis. In Russia, where the birth rate is already

low (unlike in the Third-World countries hit hard by the epidemic), the population might shrink even further when the AIDS factor is played out. The main venues of infection in Russia are intravenous drug use and unprotected heterosexual sex. More than 80 percent of HIV-positive Russians are under twenty-five. So far, drug-users account for more than 70 percent of new infections; however, epidemiologists predict that when this segment of population is, so to say, saturated with the virus, it will inevitably make its way to the population at large. Note that Russian drug-users are mostly young, and sexual mores among young people in today's Russia are extremely relaxed. Protected sex is not usually practiced, although condoms are widely available.

Russia has an AIDS law that guarantees free medical treatment to every citizen infected with HIV and bans discrimination based on one's HIV status. Providing comprehensive medical treatment, however, has not been feasible. When the law was adopted, there were no effective therapies against HIV; now they exist and are astronomically expensive. There is very little chance that the impoverished Russian state will be able to supply new state-of-the-art medications to the masses of newly infected patients. As to protecting them against discrimination, the situation is unclear. HIV-positive Russians who are discriminated against are unlikely to seek legal protection or appeal to the press. And while the law claims to protect its own citizens against discrimination, it effectively bans HIV-positive foreigners from long stays in the country—a provision as impractical as it is offensive, since not many HIV patients would go to live in a country where major HIV drugs are nonexistent.

In the course of my work, much of which took place in collaboration with the doctors of the Moscow AIDS Center, the question of new drugs arose constantly. Out of some fifteen major antiviral HIV medications developed in the West, only three are approved for use in Russia. The Western pharmaceutical giants that manufacture the drugs and do a brisk business in Russia with other drugs, tend to ignore that country as a potential market for HIV antivirals and do not apply to the health ministry for licenses to sell them. As a result, even those few Russians who could pay for their "drug cocktails" have no way of purchasing some elements of these cocktails in their country and, for the same reason, doctors cannot prescribe them. In Moscow, Dr. Golikov explained to me, the situation is particularly strange. The city government has so far agreed to pay for combination therapy for the city's HIV patients who satisfy certain medical criteria, but most of the drugs necessary for the combinations are simply not commercially available. Viral load tests, an important new diagnostic tool commonly

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Reproduced from Itogi, January 28, 1997.

used in the West to measure the number of viruses in blood, are also still unavailable.

Not that HIV treatment has been a central element in Russia's response to the AIDS crisis. Until very recently, Russian public-health authorities believed in the magic power of massive (often not entirely voluntary) HIV testing, which took the lion's share of AIDS funding. Golikov summed up the present situation of HIV medication and resources with an unprintable Russian word that I would render as "expressing a high degree of hopelessness."

Because testing has overshadowed AIDS prevention, there has been little effort toward public education. Last summer the international humanitarian group, Médecins Sans Frontiers, launched a "media campaign" in Moscow, promoting safer sex. At their June press conference at Penta, the well-dressed, well-coifed, and apparently well-intentioned Europeans showed members of the press the colorful posters and the video they had prepared—hip Moscow youngsters declaring "*bezopasnyi seks - moi vybor*" ("safe sex is my choice"). Cameras flashed, interviews were given, fine food and wine were served afterwards. For the next two months, I did not see any trace of this campaign anywhere in the city or, for that matter, in the media. In fact, during the two and a half months I spent in Russia, the only information on AIDS that I saw on public display was an advertisement for a highly dubious kind of home-testing kit, which is illegal in the United States.

While the AIDS-prevention non-profits in Moscow proliferate, the fruits of their activities seem strikingly insignificant. One group, Masha Gessen reports, received a European Union grant in the amount of half a million dollars. They produced a few thin brochures and five issues of their newsletter. And if the growing number of organizations has not brought greater results, it has increased infighting. In Moscow, I met several American college students who had come to the country full of enthusiasm and desire to help out with AIDS work. They burnt out quickly, having faced the petty ego wars of the AIDS prevention workers with more Russian experience.

At some point in the summer, I went to Dr. Golikov to ask if the group I was working for could be of help to the Moscow AIDS Center. His reaction was skeptical, and later, when we eventually developed a friendly working relationship, he explained his initial skepticism to me. For the last several years, he told me, he had had innumerable Western, especially American, visitors

who had offered help. Many of them were serious and influential people: "I'll just talk to Liz Taylor, and we'll get this for you in a moment," one of his American guests had assured him. Despite such promises, Golikov said, "Nothing of the aid they promised has ever materialized."

As a public figure, Dr. Golikov also talks to Russian politicians about AIDS. They lose interest in the conversation, he says, when he tells them that there are currently several thousand people infected with the virus. "We don't deal with issues affecting thousands," one of them said. "We work on questions important for millions."

Not everyone is so shortsighted. When we published an advertisement in Moscow English-language newspapers inviting volunteers to teach English to Moscow AIDS doctors (which they needed to read medical texts), the response was overwhelming. We were able to select a group of professional English teachers who already had experience teaching Russian health-care workers. Russians and foreigners who were not teachers also called our office, asking if they could do anything else. There is plenty of good will among Moscow professionals who can afford to do volunteer work. Unfortunately, these people are a tiny fraction of the population.

There are two aspects to the problem of AIDS prevention in Russia. First, there is an obvious lack of information. Drug-users should be given detailed and specific instructions on how to disinfect the solutions they inject and the needles they share. They do not receive such instructions. The general public is in need of specific safer sex recommendations, and these are hard to find as well. But merely providing information is not enough: people in high risk situations don't always make rational choices (and Russians have never been known for their rationality). We often assume that individuals base their decisions—especially sex-related decisions in the context of the AIDS epidemic—on the calculation of risk, grounded, in turn, on the available "scientific" information. From media reports, as well as from talking to people, it is clear to me that young Russians often don't follow this model of decision-making at all.

In Russia there is a typical story of "seroconversion" (changing one's HIV-status from negative to positive): two friends do drugs together, one of them is HIV-positive, the other knows about that and still shares a needle. He justifies his action by his craving for the drug, but also by the notion that "what is fated to happen will happen anyway." A twenty-year-old gay friend in St. Petersburg explained to me in similar terms why he did not worry about the occasional incidents of high-risk sex: "When I was a little kid, I once got very seriously ill. Since then, I have never been sick at all, not even with a cold. My body will not take any virus." He may not be entirely incorrect about his immunity, but his belief in it is based on the same irrational faith in destiny that many Russians share. This notion that the course of life depends mostly on fate makes AIDS prevention work in Russia all the more difficult.

The ambiance of the Russian capital is very much pre-AIDS. Many young and not-so-young foreigners live in Moscow,

continued on page 11

The Politics of Memory

The MEMORIAL Movement in Russia

Jan Plamper

On Monday, December 1, two members of the St. Petersburg human-rights group MEMORIAL will come to Berkeley to speak about their organization: Veniamin Iofe, director of MEMORIAL's Scientific and Information Center, and Irina Reznikova, a historian and specialist on the Solovetskii Camps. The talk, cosponsored by CSEES, BPS, and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, will take place in the Slavic Department Colloquium Room at 4:00 p.m. Jan Plamper, a Ph.D. student in the Department of History, worked for MEMORIAL from 1992 to 1994 as a social worker aiding victims of Stalinism and Nazism.

In 1993, I went on an expedition to the Solovetskii Islands—the Soviet *Ur*-camp made infamous by Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, in which he magnified this island grouping in the White Sea, just shy of the Arctic Circle, to serve as a metaphor for the entire Soviet Union. My fellow travelers were Russians from Moscow and St. Petersburg whose relatives had been imprisoned on the islands, a few former inmates, and members of the organization MEMORIAL, who have been running these annual expeditions since 1989. We were housed in the Solovetskii Kremlin, a monastery for most of its history, until it became a prison in the 1920s for political exiles such as Dmitrii Likhachev and Pavel Florenskii. Before going to sleep, I took a last peek at my “cell-mate,” Viacheslav Dolinin. “Slava,” as everybody called him, was covering his face with a towel in what looked like the finale of his bedtime ritual.

“What are you doing?” I asked.

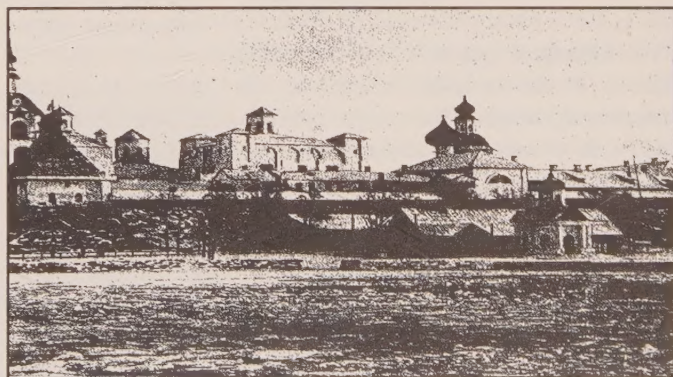
“Covering my face with a towel,” he replied laconically. “In the prosecution prison cells, they never turn off the light. Ever since, I haven't been able to fall asleep without the towel.”

Like the other organizers of the expedition, Dolinin is a member of MEMORIAL, St. Petersburg. Not to be confused with the ultranationalist group *Pamiat'*, MEMORIAL began in 1987, when Moscow intellectuals took to the streets with Andrei Sakharov, demanding a memorial for the victims of Stalinism. Other cities quickly followed in creating MEMORIALS, grassroots organizations par excellence, initially predicated on little but a common desire to speak about “the Lie,” the Soviet past of state violence, taboo for half a century. Ten years later, MEMORIAL has its own history, which can be broken down into distinct phases. An initial period in the late 1980s of overwhelming public interest in the Soviet past and those who exposed its dirty side gave way in the early 1990s to public apathy, and finally to a Communist-cum-nationalist renaissance. Nearly synonymous with burgeoning Russian civil society in 1988–1990, MEMORIAL had a close affiliation with the political party Democratic Russia and strongly supported Boris Yeltsin's candidacy for president. However, MEMORIAL has ended up at loggerheads with the Yeltsin command, most recently over the war in Chechnya. The resignation of Yeltsin's human-rights official and MEMORIAL member, Sergei Kovalev during the Chechen War is emblematic of MEMORIAL's shifting position in Russia's political landscape.

Moreover, other players have entered the now-crowded field of Russia's politics of memory. Not least among them is the KGB

and its latter-day incarnations, who have successfully applied Bolshevik *raskol* tactics, fomenting division within many MEMORIALS and luring away some of its members into “associations for the victims of illegal repression,” endowed with privileges. Apart from material incentives (public transportation discounts, for example), these privileges include access to still classified archival materials and collaboration in the publication of *knigi pamiati*, or “commemoration books.” In fact, these “commemoration” books distort the true extent of repression under the Soviet regime: they list only the victims of Stalin's Great Terror in 1937–38, and they treat the Terror as an extremist “aberration” under the leadership of NKVD chief, Ezhov. In helping to publish these books, the KGB can conveniently downplay the full extent of human rights violations in the former Soviet Union and deny its own responsibility for decades of terror.

Despite the uncertain future of the MEMORIAL movement in the face of such tactics, the organization still performs important functions on an everyday basis. St. Petersburg's MEMORIAL has some twenty-five hundred aging members: victims of Stalinist terror and their relatives, victims of political persecution of all other periods, and *Ostarbeiter* and survivors of Nazi camps. The organization's social commission touches the lives of these members most directly, providing medicine and financial support and some social services, such as shopping for people who can no longer leave their homes. The human rights commission documents violations in prisons and other government institutions. MEMORIAL-Moscow's human rights commission, for example, was instrumental in taking POW exchanges during the Chechen War out of the hands of profiteering, criminal middlemen.



The Solovetskii Kremlin, a former monastery that became a prison for political exiles in the 1920s. From Pravoslavie na Solovkakh, St. Petersburg: MEMORIAL, 1994.

As is generally true for MEMORIAL, the most active people in the historical commission are former dissidents. In his youth, Veniamin Iofe, head of the St. Petersburg MEMORIAL Scientific and Information Center, was part of a Leningrad underground student organization that took its inspiration from Yugoslav Marxist Milovan Djilas, who claimed that the party *nomenklatura* had come to embody a new class of exploiters. The group, called *Kolokol* (The Bell) after Alexander Herzen's journal, was uncovered, and Iofe spent 1965-1968 in the camps of Mordovia, befriending, among other inmates, the dissident writer Andrei Sinyavsky. For the next two decades, Iofe collected information on his country's hidden past and clandestinely published several articles abroad. A founding member of the Leningrad MEMORIAL when it began in 1988, he was elected to head the historical commission and later expanded it into an information center with its own office and archive.

In three rooms of what must be the most cramped apartment in St. Petersburg, the Scientific and Information Center (SIC) houses archival collections, which include individual trial records, oral history transcripts, and camp poetry; a library on repression; and objects of camp life, which have been shown in various exhibitions. SIC is completing a computer database of victims of repression in Petrograd-Leningrad, 1917-1991, that will hopefully one day be accessible to the public via telephone.

Various researchers associated with MEMORIAL have specialized areas of investigation. Iofe focuses on resistance to the Soviet regime, particularly the dissident movements of the 1950s and 1960s. Irina Reznikova is an expert on the history of the Solovetskii Camps and conducts the summer expeditions there. Mikhail Shkarovskii, a professional historian and an archivist at the Central State Archive in St. Petersburg, works on the Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet era (he published an article on the Josephite movement in the Summer 1995 issue of *Slavic Review*). And Viacheslav Dolinin—who was arrested in 1981 for organizing an underground trade union along the lines of the Polish Solidarity movement and set free during the Gorbachev amnesty of 1987—specializes in *samizdat* and oversees SIC's splendid collection. In an example of post-socialist self-reliance, SIC has published a number of books—for example, Natal'ia Bogdanova's memoirs of her father, prominent Menshevik, Boris Bogdanov; and a history of the imprisoned church hierarchy on the Solovetskii Islands by Irina Reznikova.

SIC is also a place where people drink a lot of tea, where a film crew stops by to tape Iofe's opinion of Solzhenitsyn's return to Russia, where an Uzbek dissident (who prefers to remain anonymous) recounts his escape from the KGB two weeks ago, and where former *zeks* (*zakliuchennyye*, or inmates) swap stories and newspaper clippings.

To conduct its research and provide services for its members, MEMORIAL relies almost exclusively on financial support from Western sources: it has received money from the Ford, MacArthur, and Soros foundations and one Russian government foundation. Recently, however, interest from the West has declined, and the Russian government has hardly stepped in to help. This lack of financial support from the current



Veniamin Iofe, director of MEMORIAL's Scientific and Information Center, in front of a prison-cell door from the Solovetskii Islands, now part of the organization's collection of prison-camp artifacts in St. Petersburg. From *Delovoi Peterburg*, 28 September-4 October, 1994.

administration shows how little concern the Russian government has for aiding the victims of the regime that preceded it. In fact, certain quarters of the government have reacted to MEMORIAL with hostility. SIC's recent financial difficulties were only compounded when its hard currency account was frozen as the result of a tax audit—an audit that, according to Iofe, was undertaken at the behest of the KGB. (After an outcry in several newspapers, the ban on SIC's bank account was lifted.) Much of the KGB's personnel is identical with the dissident-hunting officers of pre-perestroika times: its Petersburg chief, Aleksandr Cherkessov, was the prosecutor in Dolinin's 1981 trial. Understandably, the KGB's successor organizations have little sympathy for those who keep digging up information on the repression of the recent past.

As Veniamin Iofe and Irina Reznikova come to Berkeley this fall to talk about the politics of memory in Russia, I will remember Slava Dolinin. Eleven time zones and a hemisphere away, he will be pulling a towel over his face, for the scars of the past heal slowly.

For further reading on MEMORIAL see Berkeley Ph.D. Kathleen E. Smith's Remembering Stalin's Victims. Popular Memory and the End of the USSR (Ithaca, 1996). Also, Nanci Adler, Victims of Soviet Terror: The Story of the Memorial Movement (Westport, 1993).

Calendar note

There are occasional last-minute changes of events that occur after the Newsletter has been distributed.

For current information on Center events, please call (510) 642-3230. When no one is available to help you, you may listen to a recorded listing of events that is updated every Friday afternoon.

Saturday, November 8. *Symposium.* "Polish Artists' Books." Sponsored by Center for Russian and East European Studies, Stanford University and the Stanford University Libraries. Annenberg Auditorium, Cummings Art Building, Stanford campus. Free. Call (650) 723-9275 for more information.

Sunday, November 9. "Rogue Nukes: A Clear and Present Danger," a live BBC World Television broadcast with Mikhail Gorbachev, George Schultz, Alexander Lebed, Gloria Duffy, and Lee Butler. Sponsored by State of the World Forum, the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco World Affairs Council, and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. Masonic Auditorium, 1111 California Street, San Francisco. 9:15 a.m.-12:00. Fees: \$40, \$20, free for students with i.d. Contact State of the World Forum, (415) 561-2345, for more information.

Tuesday, November 11. *Brown Bag Lunch Talk.* Jan Zielonka, professor of European studies, Department of Social and Political Sciences, European University Institute, Florence. "Policies without Strategy: The EU's Record in Eastern Europe." 442 Stephens Hall. Cosponsored by CSEES and the Center for German and European Studies.

Thursday, November 13. *Public Lecture.* Vartan Oskanian, First Deputy Foreign Minister of Armenia. "Oil: A Stabilizing or Destabilizing Factor in the Caucasus." 160 Kroeber Hall, 7:30 p.m. Cosponsored by BPS and the Armenian International Magazine. Contact BPS, (510) 643-6737, for more information.

Tuesday, November 18. *Cancelled.* Our Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture will be held in the spring semester.



Wednesday, November 19. *Brown Bag Lunch Talk.* Mark Bassin, lecturer, Department of Geography, University College, London. "Between Europe and Asia: The Geography of Russian National Identity." Location TBA, 12:00 Noon. Cosponsored by CSEES, BPS, the Eurasian Studies Working Group, and the Department of Geography.

Sunday, November 23. *Concert.* Takacs Quartet. Sponsored by Cal Performances. Zellerbach Hall, 3:00 p.m. Fees: \$28. Contact Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988 for more information.

Monday, November 24. *Public Lecture.* Alexei Yurchak, visiting professor of anthropology, UC Berkeley. "Nightlife as Counter-Culture in Post-Soviet Russia." 160 Kroeber Hall, 4:00 p.m. Cosponsored by the anthropology department. Contact anthropology, (510) 642-3391, for more information.

Tuesday, November 25. *Brown Bag Lunch Talk.* Marie Lavigne, professor of economics, University of Pau, France. "The European Union's Eastern Enlargement: Expectations and Prospects." 442 Stephens Hall, 12:00 Noon. Cosponsored by CSEES and the Center for German and European Studies.

Brush up on a foreign language

Join a language table, sponsored by the International House. For the price of dinner in the I-House dining hall (\$6.25), members of the campus and the community are welcome to dine and practice speaking with others. Polish is offered on Mondays from 6:30 to 7:30 p.m., and Russian is offered on Wednesdays from 6:00 to 6:30 p.m. For more information, contact Nan Acharya at (510) 642-9460.

Thursday through Sunday, November 27-29. *Balkan folkdance festival.* "Kolo Festival 1997." San Francisco Russian Center, 2450 Sutter Street. Fees: \$10 for single class to \$65 for full weekend. Contact Joanne Splivalo, (510) 652-7859 or (800) 730-5615 for more information.

Monday, December 1. *Colloquium.* "Documenting Stalinist Terror." Veniamin Iofe and Irina Reznikova, Scientific and Information Center, MEMORIAL, St. Petersburg. Slavic Department Colloquium Room, 3401 Dwinelle Hall, 4:00 p.m. Cosponsored by CSEES, BPS, and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. In Russian with translation.

Tuesday, December 2. *Brown Bag Lunch Talk.* Alma Kunanbaeva, visiting scholar, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, UC Berkeley and former head of the Department of Ethnography of Central Asian Peoples of the Museum of Ethnography, Saint Petersburg. "Central Asian Ethnic Identity: Past and Future." 442 Stephens Hall, 12:00 Noon. Cosponsored by CSEES and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Contact CMES, (510) 642-8208, for more information.

Wednesday, December 3. *Wednesday Noon Concert.* "Slavic Carols and Other Music of the Season." Sponsored by UC Berkeley music department. Hertz Hall, 12:15-1:00 p.m. Free. Contact music department, (510) 642-4864, for more information.

Wednesday, December 3. *Concert.* The Bulgarian Voices "Angelite," formerly the Bulgarian Women's Choir. Sponsored by Cal Performances. Zellerbach Hall, 8:00 p.m. Fees: \$14, \$20, \$26. Contact Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988, for more information.

Saturday and Sunday, December 6-7. *International Conference.* "The Silk Roads in Central Asia: Recent Research." Sponsored by the Central Asia / Silk Road Working Group, the Silkroad Foundation, and the Department of Near Eastern Studies. 155 Dwinelle Hall, 9:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Free but preregistration is requested. Contact Sanjyot Mehendale, (510) 643-5265, or Bruce Williams, (510) 642-2556, for more information.

Public Servant or "Superspy"?

State Control of Economic Information in Post-Communist Poland

Elżbieta W. Benson

Elżbieta W. Benson is working on her Ph.D. dissertation, "From Information Monopoly to Market for Information: Institutional and Organizational Change in Poland, 1989-1997," at the Department of Sociology. She is currently conducting field research in Poland. Comments on this article may be e-mailed to her at wegrow1@uclink.berkeley.edu.

The collapse of Communism in Poland in 1989 brought with it the demise of the old system of a central, planned economy. Since the Communist takeover after World War II, Poland's economy had been governed by a Soviet-style system of management in which the state controlled production goals, employment quotas, the size of subsidies, and growth targets for almost all economic ventures. To fulfill its role as chief manager, the state had also devised mechanisms to receive a large volume of detailed information from, and send orders to, almost all business ventures in the country.

When the planned economy was discredited in the late 1980s, so was the role of the government as the sole broker of economic information. The rise of the free market in Poland brought with it the emergence of commercial information services such as market research, corporate intelligence, and consulting firms, which made business information a publicly available commodity and ended the government's monopoly over information. However, the existence of a private sector of business information services in Poland has not precluded the government's continued involvement in gathering and disseminating information about business in Poland. In recent years, some of the information-gathering institutions that existed under the Communist regime have found ways to legitimize their existence in a post-Communist market economy. In fact, many of the institutions responsible for gathering and disseminating information about enterprises in Communist Poland survived the collapse of Communism in 1989, allowing the state to continue in its capacity as an important part of information exchange among businesses.

Business Information under Communism

In the Soviet era, the role of the Polish state in gathering and channeling the flow of information did not require legitimization: it was guaranteed by the necessities of a planned economy. The government had to establish an extensive institutional framework to facilitate three distinct flows of economic information. The first flow, from the bottom up, included information from individual enterprises about their productive capacities, levels of employment, needs for supplies, projected production limits, and many other details. Enterprises did not dispatch their information directly to the central administration, however, but forwarded it up to administrators in charge of a designated group of enterprises. These administrators then used this information to prepare aggregate reports that they sent to the ministries, and the ministries, in turn, prepared synthetic reports for the central planning agencies and the party leadership. The second flow, from the top down, followed the same channels in reverse order, but now consisted of centrally devised production targets and assigned supply quotas. The third

flow served to control the fulfillment of production plans by enterprises and groups of enterprises and was administered by the Central Statistical Office (GUS) and its regional branches.

Scholars who have studied the behavior of economic actors responsible for feeding information into the system in the 1970s and 1980s have shown that all three flows of information were ridden with misinformation. The central planning agencies often received inaccurate information because neither enterprise directors nor their superiors were interested in providing accurate data: they manipulated information to protect themselves and their enterprises from the vagaries of the central planning system. Directors of enterprises or managers of a group of enterprises often prepared several production plans, one for themselves and various other versions for the ministries and planning agencies. In these plans, they underreported their actual productive capacity so that they would be given production quotas that would be easy to meet or even supersede: by giving low estimates of their expected productivity, they could be rewarded for fulfilling or exceeding their assigned production plans. Enterprises also routinely demanded more supplies, more subsidies, and more workers than they really needed with the knowledge that the systemic shortages and production bottlenecks of the centrally managed Polish economy would prevent them from getting everything they asked for.

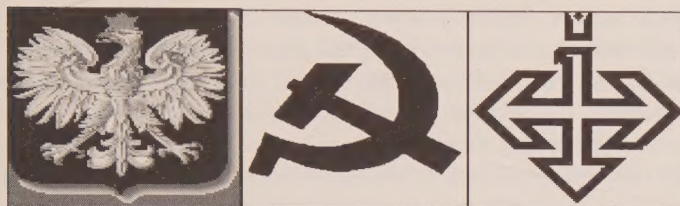
The Transformation of the Central Statistical Office

As this brief overview of the traditional institutional arrangements for channeling information in Communist Poland indicates, such a system had few advantages even before the collapse of the Communist regime. Aware of this problem, the government attempted to reform the central planning system in the 1980s by granting more independence to individual enterprises. However, while the state was willing to relinquish some economic control over individual business, it did not want to give up its monopoly over economic information. To fill in the void left by the dismantling of the central planning system, the state extended the functions of its statistical service in the 1970s and 1980s. Greatly expanded in the decades leading up to the collapse of Communism, GUS was able to transform itself into a useful and important institution in the post-Communist landscape. The history of GUS's changing legal status makes this transformation apparent.

Created before World War II, GUS served during its Communist history to provide statistical data to the state so it could verify "the realization of goals designated in national economic plans." To accomplish this task, a 1962 law imposed obligatory data reporting on organs of the state administration, state and social institutions, and state and private enterprises. To secure

compliance, the law also established penalties for providing late or untruthful information, or for failing to provide information. The law also stipulated that any research conducted by institutions other than GUS and its territorial branches had to gain approval from GUS. By granting the agency the right to restrict data gathering undertaken by other organizations, the law reasserted the state's control of the flow of economic information.

In 1982, however, a new law was drafted, stipulating that GUS share its findings with "society, the state's power structures and administration, and entities within the public sector of the economy" by publishing them in special brochures and in the press. The 1982 law also lessened restrictions on statistical research conducted by state enterprises for their own needs, though it maintained a penalty for non-disclosure of information.



After the 1989 Round Table negotiations between Solidarity and the government, revisions to the 1982 law were introduced that further broadened public oversight of GUS. Labor unions and other social organizations were granted 50 percent of all seats on the Council of the Systems of Economic and Social Information, responsible for devising statistical research plans—although the council was only given the status of an advisory organ. GUS was still required to share its statistical findings with the public, but those interested in accessing such data would now have to pay for it. GUS was also directed to implement methods for the protection of individual and organizational data that would meet existing European standards and those of pre-Communist Poland.

The 1989 law initiated the process of reinventing GUS as a legitimate institution that had continuity with prewar Poland and a reputation on par with similar institutions throughout Europe. This process found its fullest expression, however, in the 1995 law on public statistics. According to this law, data gathering done by public institutions must satisfy the "indispensable right of a human individual to the truth." This right to truth is limited, however, by the right of individuals and enterprises to control the distribution of data about themselves. To accomplish the first goal, GUS has remained a publicly funded state agency that collects, analyzes, and makes public social and economic data as defined in annual plans of public statistics. It also conducts additional research and analysis for other state agencies and private entities that pay for them. To protect the privacy of individual respondents, be they persons or organizations, GUS has adopted stricter ethical standards and improved methods of data classification and coding. To secure the accuracy of data, the law imposed numerous data reporting obligations on business enterprises. However, businesses do not have to cooperate in any economic research that GUS undertakes beyond its annual statistical plan.

In addition to being a public statistical agency, GUS also manages national administrative inventories of economic entities: newly created and existing companies are required to apply to local statistical offices for the receipt of a statistical inventory number that appears on most of the company's correspondence and on reports it sends to state agencies.

To secure its position as a respectable public institution within the Polish post-Communist order, GUS has not only significantly changed its *modus operandi*, it has also begun a public-relation campaign, including the publishing an official history of GUS (*The Central Statistical Office, 1918-1993*) and numerous other books that underline its pre-Communist roots. In this way GUS has tried to underplay its role as a part of Communist central planning and represent itself as a long-standing Polish institution.

Renewing the System of Registration

Through GUS, the state has managed to keep hold of its function as a repository of business statistics, but GUS does not represent the entirety of the government's new economic role. Equally successful, although more controversial, has been the state's transformation of its old system of court registration, which has gained renewed legitimacy in recent years as a means of tracking businesses in Poland. The legal basis for court registers dates back to 1934, but their latest comeback began in the 1980s, when the state decreed obligatory registration of foreign enterprises in Poland, and in the following years extended the decree to Polish businesses in an attempt to create a comprehensive system of commercial registers. Interestingly, registers became increasingly important at the same time as the Communist state began to pull away from the command system of economic management.

The first step in this process was the reinstatement and expansion in the 1980s and 90s of rules of registration developed before World War II to include almost all types of Polish businesses. In the early 1990s, registers played a constitutive function: many types of companies could not acquire a juridical personality without being registered. Since registers were formally accessible, they also gave the state and the public access to information about companies. Theoretically, everyone was granted the right to inspect entries in commercial registers—although until 1997 access to the registers of state enterprises was limited to those who could prove that they had a legitimate interest in inspecting them.

The state's insistence on controlling commercial registers was increasingly questioned in the mid-1990s, and not just because of the government's ability to limit public access to the registers. Critics also pointed out that the existing laws created a disorderly network of commercial registers scattered among local courts—some nineteen different registers located in forty-nine regional courts. Even if one were willing to travel around the country to gather data from the registers, one could not be sure that any given file had not been misplaced.

This dissatisfaction with the registration system stimulated a series of challenges to the state control of commercial registers. The most substantive among them was the challenge launched

continued on next page

Polish economic information, continued from page 9

by the Polish National Chamber of Commerce (KIG). The KIG has a peculiar status in Poland. On the one hand it is a nongovernmental organization established on the basis of the April 1989 Law on Associations and the May 1989 Law on Chambers of Commerce, allowing for the free formation of business organizations. However, KIG was also conceived, following the French model, as an organization to which the state could delegate some of its administrative tasks. The state further strengthened the position of KIG by transferring to it the property of an earlier organization called the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade.

Sometime around 1993, KIG began to use its considerable powers to promote a self-governing business organization, to which all Polish enterprises would belong, as a way of giving business a strong voice in public affairs. Part of this initiative entailed the creation of a central database of information about all Polish businesses. The Handicrafts Chambers and the PSL (Polish Peasant Party) supported the plan, but it met with considerable resistance from other business and political organizations.

The opponents displayed their dissatisfaction openly in the Polish Parliament. During the June 28, 1996 debate in the Sejm, the deputy of the Non-Partisan Bloc for Supporting Reforms, Andrzej Golaś, accused the supporters of the initiative of attempting to create an institution which would become a "supercourt, supercontroller, and ... superspy [*superwywiadonia*]." The deputy of the Freedom Union added that such a top-down initiative would mean "the return of the ghost of the year 1948," and, if approved, would constitute the "self-inflicted rape of Polish entrepreneurs." Representatives of the Union of Labor joined the attack. Opponents argued that with the implementation of the initiative, Polish enterprises would be sucked into an organization that would become subordinated to the state. Furthermore, they felt uncomfortable with the idea of granting such an organization control over collecting and disseminating economic data about its members. Some critics of the initiative even argued that delegating data-gathering responsibility to the new business organization would come into conflict with article fifty-one of the new constitution, which holds that "Public authorities cannot acquire, gather, and disseminate information about the citizens other than [that which is] necessary in the democratic state." Proponents of the initiative, in turn, accused their adversaries of wanting to maintain anarchy in economic relations. The persisting controversy stalled parliamentary work on the initiative and thus effectively precluded the law from being passed before the parliamentary elections of September 1997.

As work on the business association showed no promise, the government of Premier Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz introduced in the parliament an initiative to create a centralized national court register of enterprises, social organizations, and insolvent debtors. The register would consolidate information from local court and administrative registers into one central register and prevent the takeover of the registers by business associations or chambers of commerce. To secure support for its initiative, the government mandated that all data included in the central court register would be publicly accessible and that entries in the register

(with the exception of entries related to insolvent debtors) would be published in the *Court and Economic Monitor*.

This plan met opposition in some business circles. For example, Anna Podniewska, the chair of a chapter of the Polish Club of Business, commented that she would be not happy if "just anyone ... could learn about the activities of my company." KIG also added its opinion to the debate, stressing that the centralized commercial register would work better if chambers of commerce disseminated the information contained in the register. Despite these objections, the law passed and courts were granted the task of creating and maintaining the central court register.

A New Role for the State

This successful transformation of court registers, like the reorientation of GUS, demonstrates how the state has managed to preserve a substantial amount of control over the flow of economic information in post-Communist Poland. It has refurbished institutions inherited from the Communist period and modernized old methods of gathering and disseminating economic information. It has fended off challenges from business associations and chambers of commerce not only by updating its institutions, but also by linking those institutions with Western European and pre-Communist Polish organizations—particularly those which give the state the leading role in guaranteeing public access to economic information. Through these efforts, the state's statistical service is no longer a state agency for controlling economic activities, but a public service institution reorganized along pre-Communist lines. Commercial registers, once a tool for thwarting economic initiative, have become, in the words of one member of parliament, a guarantor of "the security of economic exchange." To be sure, the Polish government does not have the power it once did to control information. Many former institutions have gone by the wayside. For example, the Central Planning Office (CUP), created in 1988 to prepare prognoses of national growth, was scrapped, its responsibilities distributed among other organizations. While the CUP could still have its uses, it was too closely tied to the state's former task of economic planning to survive into the post-Communist era. The state's new role, informed by Communist and pre-Communist institutional arrangements, is to facilitate the exchange of economic information in an emerging free-market economy.

Working groups sponsored by the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities

Armenian Studies

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Orality and Ethnic Identity

Contact: Ronelle Alexander
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Refugee Studies

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AIDS, continued from page 4

working, partying, and enjoying its atmosphere of freedom and opportunity—including sexual freedom and opportunity, which is a large part of Moscow's attraction.

Since the average Russian—straight or gay—has never had a friend or acquaintance with AIDS, it is seen by most as a Western disease. As anything Western, it is sort of fashionable. A couple years ago, you could hear the pop hit “*Ia bolen SPIDom*” (“I am sick with AIDS”) in which AIDS stood for trendy decadence. The tabloid with the highest circulation of all Russian periodicals is called “SPID-Info”—SPID is the Russian acronym for AIDS. Naturally it contains many an article about sex, but very little, if anything, about “SPID.” People still joke about AIDS, and when they talk about it with sympathy, it is usually in connection with beloved celebrities killed by the disease, such as Rudolph Nuriyev or Freddy Mercury. (The Kazan’ confectionery factory makes chocolates with the brand-name “Rudolph Nuriyev,” and Freddy Mercury t-shirts can be spotted everywhere.) The fact that famous people have fallen victim to AIDS makes it sad—and even more glamorous.

In the underground art world (which is nowadays hard to distinguish from the establishment), news is circulating that a very famous St. Petersburg painter is sick with AIDS. News-

papers have reported that the British rock star Brian Eno is in St. Petersburg to coordinate fundraising to pay for the artist's treatment. (Just to remind you, in California, even homeless people, prison inmates, and undocumented aliens are basically entitled to this treatment, paid for by the state). What is going to happen to today's tens and tomorrow's hundreds of thousands young Russians for whom Brian Eno will not collect money?

The atmosphere surrounding HIV today in Russia reminds one of the situation in the United States fifteen years ago. Neither the Russian government nor the Russian public has learned from the mistakes of the West. The epidemic caught the country unprepared, and not many people seem to care. It is still possible, however, to ease the HIV situation in Russia, even from the United States. First, the pharmaceutical corporations that produce new AIDS drugs do a lot of their business and have their headquarters in this country. Someone has to remind them that they have the obligation to market and sell their HIV medication in Russia, even if today it promises only moderate profits. Second, Russian politicians and public-opinion makers should be encouraged not to turn away from the problem of AIDS, but rather to deal with it efficiently and democratically, learning from the experience of Western Europe and the United States—before the number of Russian HIV patients reaches one million.

Fall Visitors

Dr. Levon Abrahamian holds the position of visiting professor of anthropology with the Department of Ethnography at Yerevan State University in Armenia. He joins us in Berkeley for the fall semester as visiting professor with the Armenian Studies Program and visiting Caucasus scholar at the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies. Dr. Abrahamian is teaching two courses this semester, “Peoples and Cultures of the Former Soviet Union” (IAS 150.4/Anthropology 188) and “Armenian Culture and Identity in the Changing World” (IAS 150.5).

Dr. Gianmaria Ajani, professor of comparative law with the Faculty of Law at the University of Torino, Italy, joins the Boalt School of Law as visiting professor. He is teaching “European Law” (Law 261E).

Dr. Otto Boele, visiting scholar at the Slavic department, comes to Berkeley from Groningen University in the Netherlands where he wrote a dissertation entitled “The North in Russian Romantic Literature.” Dr. Boele will be conducting research for his project on cultural mythology in modernist culture.

Dr. Alma B. Kunanbaeva, former head of the Department of Ethnography of Central Asian Peoples at the Museum of Ethnography in St. Petersburg, joins the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year as a visiting scholar. Dr. Kunanbaeva is a specialist on Central Asian civilizations.

Dr. Arbakhan Magomedov, chairman of the Department of History and Culture at Ulyanovsk State Technical University in Russia, is visiting Berkeley this year as a Fulbright scholar. He will be conducting research for a project entitled “Regional Elites and the Local Political Challenge to Center-Periphery Relations in Russia, with Some Comparisons with the United States and Canada.”

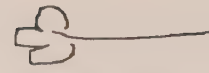
Sven Gunnar Simonsen, researcher at the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo, Norway, is visiting the Slavic Center this year as a Fulbright scholar. He will be conducting research for his dissertation entitled “Nationalism and the Russian Army: Getting Settled in a New State.”

Dr. Alexei Yurchak, visiting assistant professor of anthropology, comes to Berkeley from Duke University where he recently earned his Ph.D. in anthropology. A specialist on language and power as well as late socialist and post-Soviet culture, Dr. Yurchak is teaching two courses this semester, “Language and Culture” (Anthropology 189-1) and “Post-Soviet Anthropology” (Anthropology 250X-4).

Dr. Izaly I. Zemtsovsky, former head of the folklore department at the Russian Institute for History of the Arts in St. Petersburg, comes to Berkeley this year as a visiting professor with a joint appointment in the anthropology and Slavic departments. He is a specialist on ethnomusicology and folkloristics and is teaching two courses this semester, “Slavic and East European Folklore” (Slavic 147) and “Theory of Folklore” (Slavic 280).



Elsa Meyer Miller, 1913–1997



The Slavic Center announces with great sadness the death of Elsa Meyer Miller, a long-time friend and supporter of our Center.

We first came to know Elsa through her husband, Colin Miller, who served as the community representative on the executive committee of the Slavic Center. Elsa opened her home to the committee, often hosting meetings in her apartment. Sometimes, at her own initiative, she provided refreshments for everyone at the Center's noon-day lectures.

On Colin's death in October 1983, with Elsa's generous support, the Center inaugurated the Annual Colin Miller Lecture series featuring distinguished scholars in the field of Slavic and East European studies. Elsa often attended the annual lecture, sometimes with other family members, and she always requested tapes of the proceedings to share with friends. She kept up a correspondence with the Center staff, keeping them abreast of her family's activities and her political concerns—occasionally attaching a political cartoon that caught her fancy. "The winds of change have been very strong in the last year," she wrote in 1992. "They've swept across so many countries, such vast areas—incredible. I hope they sweep across the Atlantic to our own dear land."

Born in Cincinnati in 1913, Elsa moved here in 1926 and studied art at U.C. Berkeley. From 1941 to her retirement in 1961, she worked as a research technician for several prominent scientists. Under Dr. Wendell Stanley, she developed new methods in tissue culture that led to the creation of several vaccines. An active alumna, Elsa supported the university in many ways, including the establishment of the Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment Fund to support the Center. In 1996, she moved to Corvallis, Oregon, where she died on August 5, 1997.

In 1992, shortly after the tenth annual Colin Miller Lecture, Elsa wrote to then director George Breslauer, looking back on her relationship to the Center. "Ten and a half years ago, you persuaded me to welcome a 'memorial' gathering and announced the lectures," she wrote. "I was deeply grateful and deeply touched—I still am and do NOT deserve your so very generous words. Thank you from my heart, Elsa." We are equally grateful and touched by her kind commitment to the Center and its staff.



Henryka Yakushev, 1924–1997



Henryka Yakushev, senior lecturer at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, has passed away. Born Henryka Lipkies on July 7, 1924 in Bialystok, she spent the first fifteen years of her life in what was then north-central Poland. In June of 1941, when she was away from her family at a summer vacation camp in what is now Belarus, Nazi armies initiated Operation Barbarossa. Bialystok was soon deep within German-occupied territories, and Henryka was unable to return to her family. Later she would discover that her parents and younger sister had perished at the hands of the Nazis. On her own at barely seventeen years of age, she was transferred to an orphanage in the small village of Karakulina in the Russian S.F.S.R.

In 1944, in the last year of the war, Henryka became a student of Russian language and literature at Moscow State University. In 1947 she returned to Poland to continue her studies, now at the University of Łódź, where she soon completed a master's degree in Slavic philology. From 1948 to 1950, she taught as a lecturer in the Institute of Slavic Philology at Warsaw University. In 1950, Henryka returned to the Soviet Union to work on a doctoral degree in Russian philology at Moscow State University. In 1954, she married Alexei Yakushev, then a graduate student in the Department of Philosophy at the Moscow Institute of Economics. Their son Andrew was born two years later.

For the next ten years or so, Henryka worked in the Cultural Section of the Polish Embassy in Moscow, where she made friends with many Polish and Russian artists, writers, and poets. In 1966, the family moved to Warsaw, where she became an associate professor at Warsaw University. Only two years later, however, in the midst of new unrest in Polish society and political life, Henryka once again became an émigrée. She and her family moved to Australia, where she held academic positions at the University of Melbourne, at Australian National University in Canberra, and at the University of New South Wales. In 1971 the family moved to the United States. From 1971 to 1972, Henryka taught at Columbia University in New York and from 1972 to 1978 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. In 1979 she was appointed lecturer in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of California, Berkeley. She served the department for fifteen years until her retirement in 1994, and she continued for two years after that to direct instruction of Russian.

Constant in Henryka's professional life was an interest in the languages, arts, and cultures of Poles and Russians. She published scholarly articles on twentieth-century Polish and Russian literature, translated Polish novels and film scripts into Russian and Russian literary criticism into Polish, and contributed to Polish–Russian and Russian–Polish dictionaries. A liaison between the two cultures in Europe, she became their representative in Australia and the United States. At Berkeley, Henryka supervised instruction of beginning and advanced Russian grammar, for which she developed highly regarded teaching materials and workshops. She also taught advanced Polish grammar and Polish literature.

At a memorial service given for Yakushev by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, her colleagues recalled with appreciation her devotion to sharing her knowledge of Slavic cultures and her achievements in training graduate student instructors, among whom she acquired a following. Her colleagues and students will remember her strength of character, her intensity, her hard work, her concern for others—and her sense of humor. She was able to meet the daunting challenges and difficulties she faced throughout her life with energy and laughter.

Faculty and Student News

FACULTY

Ronelle Alexander, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, wrote an article for the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities Newsletter. "The Power of the Word: Oral Traditions in Slavic Literature" was included in the October 1997 issue and will soon be posted on the Townsend Center's web site at <http://www.ls.berkeley.edu/dept/townsend/dept.html>.

Manuel Castells, professor of city and regional planning and chair of the Center for Western European Studies, has completed his trilogy, *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture* published by Blackwell. The three volumes are titled *The Rise of the Network Society*, *The Power of Identity*, and *End of the Millennium*.

Dr. Gil Eyal joins the sociology department this year as acting assistant professor. He is a specialist on the sociology of intellectuals, political sociology, and post-Communist transformation. He is teaching a course entitled "The New Class" (Sociology 190.2) this semester.

STUDENTS

BPS Fellowships

The Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies offers limited funding for its affiliated graduate students for summer language training, summer travel, graduate training, and dissertation research.

BPS Summer 1997 Recipients

Ivan Ascher received a grant to study Azeri language in Baku.

Ela Benson received a grant to conduct dissertation research in Poland and the United States.

Greg Castillo received a grant to conduct research in England on East German sources.

Catherine Dale received funding to study Georgian language in Tbilisi and to conduct research in the Caucasus.

David Engerman received a dissertation fellowship.

Melinda Herrold received a grant to conduct research in the Russian Far East.

Maranatha Ivanova received a grant to conduct research in Moscow.

Dan Kronenfeld received summer language grant to study Russian language in Moscow.

BPS AY 1997-98 Recipients

Ela Benson, to conduct research in Poland and the United States.
Nina Bubnova, to conduct research on fiscal disparities in the Russian Federation.

Keith Darden, to conduct interviews in Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova.

Serge Glushkoff, to research the interaction of post-Soviet environment policy and ethics with the ecology of Russia

and the CIS.

Maranatha Ivanova, to study the common culture of Communism in Russia and China.

Marian Mabel, to study the natural resource economy of the Russian Far East.

David Hoffman and **Jarrold Tanny** each received graduate training fellowships to undertake intensive area studies, methodology, and language training at U.C. Berkeley.

FLAS Fellowships

The Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships are provided by a grant from the U.S. Department of Education to the Slavic Center, to fund intensive language training.

Summer 1997 FLAS Recipients

Jonathan Barnes, Department of Linguistics, studied Serbian/Croatian at Zagreb University.

Michael Carpenter, Department of Political Science, studied Czech at Charles University.

Shari Cartwright, Department of Political Science, studied Polish at the Jagiellonian University.

Anne Clunan, Department of Political Science, studied Russian in Moscow through MISPS.

Laura Henry, Department of Political Science, studied Polish at the Jagiellonian University.

James Herr, Department of Economics, studied Russian in Moscow through ACTR/ACCELS.

Daniel Kronenfeld, Department of Political Science, studied Russian in Moscow through MISPS.

David Lindau, Department of Anthropology, studied Russian at the University of Washington.

Marian Mabel, Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, studied Russian in Khabarovsk through ACTR.

Peter Schmelz, Department of Music, studied Russian at the University of Washington.

Michelle Viise, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, studied Polish at the Jagiellonian University.

Lisa Walker, Department of History, studied Russian in St. Petersburg through CIEE.

AY 1997-98 FLAS Recipients

Christopher Caes, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, to study Polish.

Sean Pager, Boalt School of Law, to study Hungarian.

Victoria Frede, Department of History, to study Russian.

Michael Carpenter, Department of Political Science, to study Czech.

Melinda Herrold, Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, to study Russian.

Diana Blank, Department of Anthropology, to study Russian.

Associates of the Slavic Center

The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center (or have been enrolled due to their particular generosity toward Cal to support some aspect of Slavic & East European Studies) between April 15 and October 1, 1997. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extracurricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance.

(*signifies gift of continuing membership)

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For those of you who are not yet members, we encourage you to join. We believe you will enjoy the stimulating programs; even if you cannot participate as often as you might wish, your continuing contribution critically supports the Center's mission and goals.

Members (\$50 to \$100). Members of ASC regularly receive Newsletter "Updates" and special mailings to notify them of events and special activities, such as cultural performances and major conferences. In this way, notification of even last-minute items is direct.

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Center Circle (\$1,000-up). In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the Center Circle will also become Robert Gordon Sproul Associates of the University. As such, they are invited to luncheons before the major football games. They also have use of the Faculty Club and twenty other worldwide faculty clubs. The names of donors of \$1,000 or more appear in the Annual Report of Private Giving.

It is a policy of the University of California and the Berkeley Foundation that a portion of the gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds. Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Send your check, made payable to the Regents of the University of California, to:

The Center for Slavic and East European Studies
University of California, Berkeley
361 Stephens Hall # 2304
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Fellowship and Other Opportunities

Slavic Center Travel Grants

Limited travel support for faculty and Center-affiliated graduate students. Awards up to \$300 are made to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive Slavic Center funding in AY 96-97. Deadline: on-going. To apply: send request with budget to Barbara Voytek, CSEES, U.C. Berkeley, 361 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

Charlotte Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellowships

Awards of \$14,000 for 12 months of full-time dissertation research and writing on ethical or religious values. Request application before November 14, 1997. Contact: Graduate Fellowship Office, 318 Sproul Hall; Tel: (510) 642-0672.

United States Institute of Peace

1998-99 Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowship. Supports doctoral dissertations, research from a broad range of disciplines and interdisciplinary fields, that explore the sources and nature of international conflict and strategies to prevent or end conflict and to sustain peace. Awards of \$14,000 for one year which may be used to support writing or field research. Eligibility: doctoral students must be enrolled in an accredited U.S. university or college, and applicants must complete all requirements for the degree except the dissertation by the award start date (September 1, 1998). Deadline: November 17, 1997. Contact: Jennings Randolph Program, U.S. Institute of Peace, 1550 M St NW, Ste 700, Washington DC 20005; Tel: (202) 429-3886; Fax: (202) 429-6063; jrprogram@usip.org; <http://www.usip.org>.

Social Science Research Council

1998 International Dissertation Field Research Fellowships. Funding to conduct field research for students in the social sciences and the humanities. Standard fellowships provide nine months of support for field research, up to \$15,000. Eligibility: must be enrolled in Ph.D. program in the United States and have completed all course requirements except field research by May 1998. Deadline: November 18, 1997.

SSRC Eurasia Program Dissertation Fellowships. For U.S. citizens specializing in the study of the Soviet Union and its successor states, within disciplines in the humanities or social sciences. Pending the availability of funding, awards will be made of up to \$15,000. Eligibility: enrolled in Ph.D. program, have completed research, and expect to finish dissertation during the next AY. Applications available October 31, 1997. Deadline: TBA.

SSRC Louis Dupree Prize for Research on Central Asia. Awards a prize of \$2,500 for the most promising dissertation involving field research in Central Asia. The prize allows for a longer stay or more extensive travel within the region. Eligibility: must have received a dissertation research fellowship under competitions administered through a relevant program (International Peace & Security Fellowships, Title VIII (Eurasia) Fellowships). Deadline: TBA.

Contact three fellowships above: SSRC, 810 Seventh Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: (212) 377-2700; <http://www.ssrc.org>.

Kennan Institute

Short-Term Grants. Available to Russian/Post-Soviet Studies and East European Studies scholars who need to use the library, archival, and other specialized resources of the Washington, D.C. area, for up to one month. Provides an \$80 per diem. Deadlines: December 1, 1997; March 1, 1998; June 1, 1998; September 1, 1998. Contact: Fellowships and Grants, The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, 370 L'Enfant Promenade SW, Ste 704, SI MRC 930, Washington DC 20024; Tel: (202) 287-3400; ngill@sivm.si.edu.

Research Assistantships. Paid opportunities for graduate students to work with a scholar-in-residence at the Institute over a period of three to nine months. Applicants need a good command of Russian and ability to conduct independent research. Deadline: ongoing. Contact: The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, 370 L'Enfant Promenade SW, Ste 704, SI MRC 930, Washington DC, 20024; Tel: (202) 287-3000 x324; <http://wwics.si.edu/FELLOW>.

Townsend Center for the Humanities

For U.C. Berkeley graduate students writing Ph.D. dissertations whose projects

significantly involve humanistic material or problems, or have a significant bearing on the humanities. The fellowship provides \$12,000 plus fees. Deadline: December 5, 1997. Contact: the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities, 460 Stephens Hall; Tel: (510) 643-9670; http://ls.berkeley.edu/dept/townsend/Fell_TOC.html.

SSRC / American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS)

SSRC/ACLS International Predissertation Fellowships. Provide 12 months of support for a training program that prepares students to conduct dissertation field research in many regions, including Central Asia and the Caucasus. Standard fellowships provide 12 months of support over a two-year period. Advanced Disciplinary Training Fellowships support a small number of economics, political science, psychology, and sociology students with an exceptionally strong area background for advanced theoretical and methodological training to provide a more sophisticated understanding of the fellow's discipline, at a U.S. university. Fellowships supplement the normal program of study and do not fund dissertation research. Deadline: December 8, 1997. Contact: Susanne Kauer, Graduate Fellowship Office, 318 Sproul Hall; Tel: (510) 642-7739.

Mabelle McLeod Lewis Fellowships

Provide grants to advanced doctoral candidates in the humanities for completion of a scholarly dissertation project on which significant progress has already been made. Deadline: December 15, 1997. Contact: Graduate Fellowship Office, 318 Sproul Hall; Tel: (510) 642-0672.

Harvard University

Kathryn W. and Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Russian Studies Postdoctoral Fellowships. For research in the humanities and social sciences on Russia and the Soviet successor states. Five awards, each of \$27,500, will be made for the academic year of 1998-99 to scholars who have received the Ph.D. since 1992. Deadline: December 31, 1997. Contact: Fellowship Program, the Kathryn W. and Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

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By a generous gift to the university, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Hertelendy have established an endowment for support of the Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies. Graduates of any nationality and citizenship are eligible to apply, provided only that they reside in the United States at the time of application and plan to embark on a career in the United States. The Hertelendy Fellowship is intended to support enrolled graduate students working in the general field of Hungarian studies and/or U.S.–Hungarian or European (including the EU)–Hungarian relations. The fields are broadly defined to include all areas of history, language, culture, arts, society, politics, and institutions of Hungary. The deadline for the fellowship competition is March 1, 1998. Questions regarding any aspect of the Hertelendy Fellowship in Hungarian Studies should be directed to Barbara Voytek (bvoytek@uclink.berkeley.edu or (510) 643-6736).